

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMA 1567

E.O. 11652: NGDS

TAGS: PINT, PE

SUBJECT: ANNUAL APRA RALLY - AN EXERCISE IN CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

REF: LIMA 1396

SUMMARY: AT THE FEBRUARY 19 APRA RALLY IN TRUJILLO, HAYA DE LA TORRE CALLED FOR FREE AND OPEN DEBATE ON THE GOP DRAFT PLAN "TUPAC AMARU", AN IMMEDIATE RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES, AND ELECTIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HE REFRAINED FROM SHARP CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT, PRAISING IT FOR ITS ADMISSION OF PAST ERRORS. SOME APRA LEADERS ARE UNHAPPY WITH THE CONCILIATORY NATURE OF THE ADDRESS AND ARE CONVINCED THAT THE GOVERNMENT PLAN IS A FRAUD DESIGNED TO DECEIVE INTERNATIONAL OPINION AND TO BUY TIME DOMESTICALLY. THEY CLAIM THAT APRA WILL HAVE TO PRESS THE GOP FOR SPECIFIC STEPS TOWARDS CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT OR BE FACED WITH AN ESSENTIALLY AUTHO-RITARIAN PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

1. DENIED ITS REQUEST FOR A NON-NIGHT CURFEW SUSPENSION IN ORDER TO HOLD ITS TRADITIONAL LIMA RALLY (ON THE OCCASION OF HAYA DE LA TORRE'S BIRTHDAY), THE APRA PARTY QUICKLY ORGANIZED A FEBRUARY 19 RALLY IN TRUJILLO. THE GOP PROHIBITED PUBLIC APRA RALLIES ELSEWHERE. PRESS COVERAGE, EXCEPT IN INDEPENDENT MAGAZINES, WAS BRIEF AND PERFUNCTORY.

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2. AT THE TRUJILLO GATHERING HAYA REGAINED FROM SHARP ATTACKS ON THE MILGOV, PRAISING IT FOR AN "HONEST" ADMISSION OF PAST FAILURES. HAYA CREDITED THE GOP FOR ABANDONING WHAT HE TERMED ITS BLIND ANTI-IMPERIALISM. "WE SHOULD BE INTELLIGENT ANTI-IMPERIALISTS. IN THE MINING SECTOR WE LACK TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITALISM, AND SO SHOULD NEGOTIATE. THIS HAS BEEN DONE IN CUAJONE AND IT IS CORRECT."

3. HAYA PRESENTED NO APRA COUNTERPROPOSAL BUT CALLED UPON PERUVIANS TO ANALYZE AND DEBATE THE GOP DRAFT PLAN "TUPAC AMARU" IN THEIR COMMUNITIES, TRADE UNIONS, COOPERATIVES, AND POLITICAL PARTIES. IN ORDER FOR DISCUSSION TO BE EFFECTIVE, DECLARED HAYA, THERE MUST BE POLITICAL FREEDOM--NO SUSPENSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES AND NO CURFEW. THE MASS MEDIA MUST BE OPENED TO ALLOW FREE EXPRESSION OF VIEWS. PERSONAL OPINIONS SENT TO THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE MAIL DO NOT CONSTITUTE DIALOGUE, SAID HAYA.

4. REFERRING TO THE GOP COMMITMENT TO A PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY HAYA AFFIRMED THAT THE ONLY PATH TO THAT GOAL IS VIA THE INDIVIDUAL VOTE AND THE METHOD TO ORGANIZE THAT VOTE IS WITH POLITICAL PARTIES. "THE TRADITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IS THE TRADITION OF CIVILIZATION". THE APRA, AFFIRMED HAYA, IS A RESPONSIBLE PARTY, CONSCIOUS OF ITS POLITICAL DUTY. "IT IS NOT SIMPLY A FORCE FOR PROTEST BUT IS A CONSTRUCTIVE AND CREATIVE PARTY". "THEREFORE WE WANT FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN ORDER TO HOLD ELECTIONS. THE PLAN SPEAKS OF A NEW CONSTITUTION. AGREED, BUT (A CONSTITUTION DRAWN UP) BY A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY."

5. THE CRITICISM WAS TEMPERED AND HAYA AVOIDED HIS TENDENCY TO ENGAGE IN SARCASTIC ANTI-MILITARY REMARKS. HE WAS INTENTIONALLY IMPRECISE REGARDING AN ELECTION TIMETABLE, PERHAPS IN EXPECTATION OF MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE WITH THE GOP.

6. APRA LEADERS SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD THE EMBASSY THAT THEY WERE DISAPPOINTED IN HAYA'S CONCILIATORY AND EXCESSIVELY VAGUE SPEECH. THEY STATED THAT MORALES BERMUDEZ' SON RECENTLY VISITED HAYA, FLATTERED CONFIDENTIAL

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HIM, AND THEN CONVINCED HIM TO DELIVER A CONCILIATORY ADDRESS WITH THE PROMISE THAT MORALES BERMUDEZ WOULD BE CONSULTING HIM ON PERU'S POLITICAL FUTURE. THESE LEADERS FEAR THAT HAYA HAS BEEN DECEIVED AND SUSPECT THAT THE PLAN "TUPAC AMARU" IS A GOP PROPAGANDA PLOY INTENDED TO IMPRESS U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION AS WELL AS TO BUY TIME DOMESTICALLY. THEY POINT TO THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE GOP PROMISE TO INCORPORATE THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS INTO A NEW CONSTITUTION ON THE ONE HAND, AND WITH ALLEGED DISREGARD FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE 1933 CONSTITUTION, ON THE OTHER. THEY CLAIM THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL PLAN WILL BE PREPARED BY THE MILITARY WITHOUT REGARD FOR COMMENTARY MADE BY POLITICAL GROUPS OR INDIVIDUALS. IN FACT, THEY ASSERT THAT GOP EXPERTS ARE NOW PREPARING A DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR SUBMISSION TO THE CITIZENS IN REFERENDUM FASHION, (AS IF TO CORROBORATE THIS A GOP CIVILIAN ADVISOR TOLD EMBASSY FEBRUARY 24 THAT IT WOULD BE NONSENSE TO ELECT A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND THAT THE BEST AND PERFECTLY DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE WOULD BE TO SUBMIT A COMPLETED CONSTITUTION TO THE CITIZENS FOR THEIR APPROVAL IN

REFERENDUM).

7. THE FEARS OF SOME APRA LEADERS MAY BE WELL-FOUNDED BUT HAYA
STILL SPEAKS FOR THE PARTY. IF THOSE LEADERS INTEND TO PRESSK
THE GOP PUBLICLY ON SPECIFIC STEPS, THEY WILL HAVE TO CONVINCE HAYA
THAT SUCH A COURSE IS REQUIRED.
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